

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 022062

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TO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:EEC, PFOR, EGEN

SUBJECT: STATEMENT ON US/EC RELATIONS

1. FOLLOWING IS DEPARTMENT STATEMENT ON US-EC RELATIONS

PREPARED IN RESPONSE TO SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

REQUEST IN CONNECTION WITH AMBASSADOR HINTON'S CONFIRMA-

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PAGE 02 STATE 022062

TION HEARINGS JANUARY 26.

2. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN POSTWAR

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IS THE MOVEMENT OF WESTERN EUROPEAN

STATES -- THE NINE-NATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC)  
-- BEYOND RECONCILIATION TOWARD UNITY. THE UNITED STATES  
WELCOMED THIS DEVELOPMENT FROM THE OUTSET AND HAS CONSIS-  
TENTLY SUPPORTED THE CONTINUING PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFI-  
CATION.

THE BASES FOR OUR SUPPORT ARE SEVERAL AND INTERRELATED.  
FIRST, WE FAVOR A STRONG EUROPE. OUR OWN SECURITY IS  
INSEPARABLE FROM THE SECURITY OF EUROPE, AND EUROPE IS  
THEREFORE THE FIRST LINE OF OUR OWN DEFENSE. THE ATLANTIC  
ALLIANCE HAS PROVIDED A SHIELD BEHIND WHICH THE NATIONS OF  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE REBUILT AND ESTABLISHED THEM-  
SELVES AS A MAJOR FACTOR ON THE WORLD SCENE. A STRONG DE-  
FENSE REMAINS THE NECESSARY CONDITION OF FURTHER

PROGRESS IN LESSENING TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND  
ITS ALLIES, AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE COMMUNITY IS IMPOR-  
TANT TO THE ABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE  
ALLIANCE TO CONTRIBUTE TO WESTERN SECURITY.

SECOND, WE FAVOR A POLITICALLY STABLE EUROPE. THE EURO-  
PEAN INSTABILITIES WHICH SPAWNED TWO WORLD WARS IN THIS  
CENTURY TURNED IMPORTANTLY ON HOSTILITY BETWEEN WESTERN  
EUROPE'S TWO GREAT CONTINENTAL POWERS, FRANCE AND GERMANY.  
THE COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP PUTS BOUNDS ON THE DEVELOP-  
MENT OF POLITICAL CONFLICT AND COMPETITION AMONG ITS  
MEMBERS, AND ENABLES THEM TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH  
TODAY'S ARRAY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS. THIS  
CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL STABILITY IS IMPORTANT TO US,  
AS WELL AS TO THE EUROPEANS. IT IS US POLICY TO EN-  
COURAGE THE FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THIS RELATIONSHIP.

THIRD, WE FAVOR A PROSPEROUS EUROPE. MORE THAN A QUAR-  
TER OF US TRADE IS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, AND ONE-THIRD  
OF OUR OVERSEAS DIRECT INVESTMFNT IS LOCATED THERE.  
OVER A FOURTH OF OUR EXPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES  
GO TO COMMUNITY COUNTRIES. IN A PERIOD OF GROWING INTER-  
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PAGE 03 STATE 022062

DEPENDENCE, THE HEALTH AND INTERACTION OF OUR ECONOMIES  
TAKES ON GREATER THAN EVER IMPORTANCE. A PROSPEROUS  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CAN CONTRIBUTE TO OUR OWN ECONOMIC  
HEALTH; AS A MARKET FOR US GOODS, A FOCUS FOR US INVEST-  
MENT, AND A SOURCE OF PRODUCTS FOR US CONSUMERS. SUCCES-  
SIVE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SUPPORTED  
THE EVOLUTION OF A UNIFIED EUROPEAN MARKET, BASED ON  
OUR BELIEF THAT FAIR AND VIGOROUS COMPETITION BETWEEN US  
ULTIMATELY BENEFITS US BOTH. BEYOND THIS, A PROSPEROUS  
COMMUNITY IS IN A POSITION -- TOGETHER WITH THE US,  
JAPAN, AND OTHERS -- TO SHARE THE BURDEN OF ASSISTANCE  
TO THE WORLD'S POORER COUNTRIES. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S

ABILITY TO ACT AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT IS IMPORTANT TO THE STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES AND TO OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER BOTH OPEN AND JUST.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, WE FAVOR A UNITED EUROPE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS FOR THE EUROPEANS TO DECIDE THE PACE AND CHARACTER OF THE PROCESS TOWARD GREATER UNITY. THE UNITED STATES, PROCEEDING FROM THE CONVICTION THAT A DISTINCT EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IDENTITY AND A CLOSE TRANS-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND INTERESTED IN ACTIONS WHICH AFFECT OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

OUR SUPPORT, HOWEVER, IS NOT UNQUALIFIED. IT IS PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT OUR OBJECTIVES AND THOSE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WILL IN GENERAL BE MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; THAT WE WILL ARGUE OUR RESPECTIVE POINTS OF VIEW WITH VIGOR; THAT WHEN WE CANNOT ENTIRELY RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES WE SHOULD ALWAYS UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER'S POSITION; AND THAT WE SHOULD ENDEAVOR NOT TO SURPRISE EACH OTHER WITH MAJOR ACTIONS WHICH AFFECT OUR COMMON INTERESTS. THE COMMUNITY HAS BECOME AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FORCE AFFECTING US ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND TRADE INTERESTS. IT IS US POLICY TO DEFEND THOSE INTERESTS, JUST AS IT IS EC POLICY TO DEFEND ITS INTERESTS WHEN IT PERCEIVES THEM AFFECTED BY US ACTIONS. WE HAVE FOUND, HOWEVER, THAT THE LINKS BETWEEN US ARE SO STRONG LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PAGE 04 STATE 022062

AND OUR FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS AND VALUES SO MUCH IN COMMON THAT SERIOUS CONSULTATION BETWEEN US WILL MOST OFTEN PRODUCE MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE, IF NOT ALWAYS COMMON, POLICIES.

#### SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF RECENT TRENDS, BOTH WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ARE OF SIGNIFICANCE TO US INTERESTS.

-- THE COMMUNITY, AS THE REST OF THE WORLD, IS CAUGHT UP IN A WEB OF GROWING ECONOMIC DEPENDENCIES. THE 1973 ENERGY CRISIS FIRST UNDERLINED THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE AND VULNERABILITY FOR ESSENTIAL ENERGY SUPPLIES. GLOBAL RECESSION, AN UNPRECEDENTED POSTWAR RATE OF INFLATION, AND RISING UNEMPLOYMENT HAVE FURTHER HEIGHTENED THE COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTION OF ITS INTERDEPENDENCE, AS IT HAS OURS.

-- ECONOMICALLY, THE COMMUNITY IS MOVING TOWARD EXPANDED TRADE AND GREATER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON MANY FRONTS. WITH A COMBINED POPULATION EXCEEDING THAT OF THE UNITED STATES AND A 1974 GNP OF \$1,160 BILLION, THE COMMUNITY NOW CONSTITUTES THE WORLD'S LARGEST TRADER AND THE MAJOR BUYER OF IMPORTS FROM THE THIRD WORLD. THE EC HAS ACHIEVED AN EFFECTIVE COMMON EXTERNAL TARIFF (CUSTOMS UNION) AND HAS EMERGED AS A DISTINCT TRADING ENTITY (COMMON COMMERCIAL POLICY) WHICH HAS TRADE OR ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS WITH MORE THAN FIFTY COUNTRIES.

;

UNDER ITS COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY, EC MEMBERS HAVE ELIMINATED INTERNAL BARRIERS ON MOST FARM PRODUCTS, INCREASED AGRICULTURAL TRADE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND WITH OTHERS, APPLIED COMMON PRICES AND A COMMON POLICY FOR TRADE WITH NONMEMBERS, AND HAVE TAKEN JOINT FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MARKET MANAGEMENT DECISIONS. THE EC HAS AGREED ON ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSIST THE COMMUNITY'S MORE BACKWARD AREAS (REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT). AND, IF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PAGE 05 STATE 022062

MORE SLOWLY, THE COMMUNITY IS ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP ITS COMMON INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND IS PROCEEDING ON A THREE-STAGE APPROACH TO ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION.

-- POLITICAL COOPERATION, THE VOLUNTARY COORDINATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AMONG THE NINE MEMBER STATES, IS A GROWING PHENOMENON. WHILE OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY TREATY OF ROME FRAMEWORK, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE NINE MEMBER STATES MEET REGULARLY TO DISCUSS A BROAD RANGE OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. COORDINATION ON POLITICAL MATTERS OF INTEREST TO THE US IS INCREASING, AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIC PROGRAMS ARE FREQUENTLY THE INSTRUMENT FOR IMPLEMENTING EC NINE POLITICAL DECISIONS. THE PRINCIPAL THRUST OF EC NINE POLITICAL COOPERATION HAS BEEN IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION AND ON UN-RELATED ISSUES; COMMON EC POSITIONS WERE ALSO PURSUED DURING THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) WITH CULMINATED IN THE HELSINKI ACCORD OF LAST JULY.

-- GROWING EC NINE POLITICAL COOPERATION HAS ALSO RESULTED IN A MORE INTEGRATED POLITICAL-ECONOMIC-SECURITY OUTLOOK BY THE COMMUNITY AND AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO SPEAK WITH A SINGLE VOICE IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE UNITED NATIONS, THE NINE MEMBER STATES HAVE ELECTED TO COORDINATE THEIR POSITIONS ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES AND OFTEN TO BE JOINTLY REPRESENTED BY A COMMUNITY SPOKESMAN. IN

THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION (NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS), THE COMMUNITY HAS ALSO CHOSEN SINGLE REPRESENTATION. THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE IN ADDITION TO THE EXISTING UNIFIED COMMUNITY APPROACH IN THE TRADE FIELD AS PROVIDED BY THE TREATY OF ROME AND CURRENTLY PURSUED IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (MTN) IN GENEVA. THIS PRACTICE IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE

AND EXPAND. THE COMMUNITY IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND IS LIKELY TO BECOME INCREASINGLY SO IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

-- OUR ONGOING EXCHANGES WITH THE COMMUNITY, ON THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PAGE 06 STATE 022062

SPECTRUM OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES, ARE PROBABLY CLOSER AND MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN EVER BEFORE. WE HOLD SEMI-ANNUAL HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EC COMMISSION, THE TWELFTH ROUND OF WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN BRUSSELS THIS SPRING, ON A FULL RANGE OF ECONOMIC ISSUES. FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS, OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NINE ON POLITICAL ISSUES, THROUGH THE EC MEMBER STATE HOLDING THE SIX-MONTH ROTATING EC PRESIDENCY, HAVE RESULTED IN AN IMPROVED DIALOGUE ON MANY QUESTIONS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

#### PROBLEMS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP IS WITHOUT PROBLEMS OR THAT THERE ARE NOT ISSUES WHICH MUST BE ADDRESSED AND RESOLVED.

OF THE CURRENT BILATERAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE US AND THE COMMUNITY, MANY ARE RELATED TO OR HAVE BEEN AGGRAVATED BY THE WORLD ECONOMIC RECESSION, AGGRAVATED BY THE ENERGY CRISIS. THE US AND THE COMMUNITY ARE COMMITTED TO THE OECD TRADE PLEDGE TO PREVENT ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION OF EXPORTS OR RESTRICTIONS ON IMPORTS. THE US IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN THE CONSIDERATION OF SEVERAL US INDUSTRY COMPLAINTS INVOLVING SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTS FROM THE COMMUNITY AND IS CAREFULLY WATCHING COMMUNITY ACTIONS WHICH AFFECT US EXPORTS. THE SPECTRE OF PROTECTIONISM IS OUR MUTUAL CONCERN, AND THE US IS ANXIOUS TO BUILD ON THE IMPROVED COMMUNICATION AND COMPREHENSION WHICH HAS EMERGED IN US-EC TRADE RELATIONS IN THE PAST TWO TO THREE YEARS. WE MUST ADMINISTER FULLY AND FAIRLY OUR LAWS AFFECTING TRADE. BUT THERE ARE STRONG PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. THUS FAR, OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL IN NOT PERMITTING THESE PRESSURES TO BE TRANSLATED INTO PROTECTIONIST MEASURES.

OUR COMMON PROBLEM IS TO ENSURE THAT THIS REMAINS THE  
CASE.

WHILE BILATERAL TRADE PROBLEMS EXIST BETWEEN THE US AND  
THE COMMUNITY, COMMON POLITICO-ECONOMIC ISSUES AFFECTING  
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PAGE 07 STATE 022062

US ALL ALSO COMMAND OUR ATTENTION AND DEMAND OUR MUTUAL  
ACTION. ON MOST OF THESE ISSUES (ENERGY, FOOD, RAW MA-  
TERIALS, TRADE, INVESTMENT) THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF  
VIEWS ON SOME SPECIFICS BUT AT THE SAME TIME SUBSTANTIAL  
AGREEMENT ON OUR JOINT OVERALL OBJECTIVES. OUR PROBLEM  
IS ONE OF COORDINATING OUR STRATEGY AND JOINTLY PUR-  
SUING OUR OBJECTIVES.

-- WE MUST SEEK IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MULTILATERAL  
TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (MTN) IN GENEVA TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL  
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM. OUR GOALS ARE  
LOWER TARIFF AND NON-TARIFF BARRIERS, LIBERALIZED AGRI-  
CULTURAL TRADE, NEW RULES AND PROCEDURES FOR ACCESS TO  
SUPPLIES OF BASIC RAW MATERIALS AND IMPROVED TRADE  
OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. REACHING AGREEMENT  
WITH THE EC IN AREAS WHERE OUR INTERESTS APPEAR TO  
CONFLICT -- FOR EXAMPLE, ON AGRICULTURE AND EXPORT SUB-  
SIDIES -- WILL BE CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE MTN.

-- IN THE AREA OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS, THE US AND  
THE EC SHARE A COMMON PERSPECTIVE OF THE NEED FOR RESPONSIVENESS  
TO LEGITIMATE LDC ASPIRATIONS. IN THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AT WHICH WE WILL EXPLORE WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD THE CRUCIAL PROBLEMS OF ENERGY, RAW MATERIALS, DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCE, AND IN THE FORTHCOMING UNCTAD IV WE MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THE COMMUNITY TO DEVELOP POSITIVE RESPONSES.

-- WHILE WE HAVE RESOLVED OUR BASIC DIFFERENCES ON INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY AND TOGETHER WITH THE EC ARE MOVING TO RATIFY THE REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, WE MUST CONTINUE TO SEEK CLOSE COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC POLICY. OUR COMMON PROBLEM IS TO RESTORE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE RESUMPTION OF SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC GROWTH IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE US, AND THUS TO FOSTER POLITICAL COHESION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

IN CONFRONTING THESE PROBLEMS, THERE IS BROAD AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE US AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ON OUR  
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PAGE 08 STATE 022062

COMMON STAKE IN THEIR RESOLUTION AND ON THE NECESSITY TO RECONCILE OUR DIFFERENCES. THE US AND THE COMMUNITY RECOGNIZE THAT IF WE ARE TO FOSTER INTERNATIONAL PROSPERITY AND SECURITY, WE MUST BE NOT ONLY ECONOMICALLY STRONG BUT POLITICALLY COHESIVE.

AS SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER STRESSED IN HIS REMARKS TO THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT LAST MAY, IF THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS "ARE TO COOPERATE IN TIMES OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY CRISIS, WE CANNOT IN CALMER PERIODS AFFORD TO BE ECONOMICALLY WEAK OR DISUNITED OR PREOCCUPIED WITH CLASHING ECONOMIC INTERESTS."

3. FYI. COMMITTEE'S REQUEST WAS FOR STATEMENT OF US POLICY TOWARD THE EC, SIGNIFICANT TRENDS, AND CURRENT PROBLEMS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT SFRC REQUEST FOR SUCH A STATEMENT IS NEW PROCEDURE WHICH COMMITTEE INTENDS TO USE ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS AS PART OF CONFIRMATION PROCESS.

KISSINGER

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